

1645

Independency accused

By nine severall

ARGUMENTS:

Written by a godly learned Minister,
to a Member of M^r JOHN GOODWINS
CONGREGATION,

AND

Acquitted by severall REPLYES to
the said ARGUMENTS by a Member
of the same CHURCH.

In both which, sweetnesse of spirit, and soundnesse
of Arguments have been endeavoured.

GALAT. 6. 1.

*Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, yee which are spirituall, restore
such a one in the spirit of meeknesse, considering thy self, lest thou also
be tempted.*

Published according to Order.

LONDON,

Printed for Henry Overton in Popes-head Alley, 1645.

Independence secured

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JOHN GOODWIN
MORRISON

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Approved by Rev. Mr. R. E. L. Y. 2 10

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И. Я. И. Г. 1910

These are the only two cases of this kind in the world.


Q A L A T . 6 . I .

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Revised according to Order.

LOWDOWN

Directed for Henry Overton in Power-boat Albatross


To the Reverend, my deare and loving
Pastor, Mr JOHN GOODWIN, Pastor of the
Church in Colemanstreet.

Deare and reverend Sir,


 Our favourable acceptance of my present
 pains, and candid construction of enga-
 ging my self therein, is my humble re-
 quest by my present addresse, whereof,
 though mine own insufficiency might beget my su-
 spicion; yet the knowledge of your love (which
 thinketh no evil) gives me satisfaction; for although
 the piety and parts of my ingenious Antagonist did
 challenge an opponent of sutable endowments; and
 renders me presumptuous for my attempt therein,
 (unworthy to be named in competition with him)
 yet the perfect knowledge of your pressing pains of
 severall kindes in the work of the Lord, stopping
 the mouth, which otherwaies would have begg'd
 your own labours in this present businesse, together
 with the requests of some of our friends, prest mee
 hereunto, wherein, if I have not prejudiced the Cause
 I plead for, distast'd you, nor dishonoured God, but
 (though in the least measure) have further'd the
 truth, it is the highest ambition, and greatest reward
 of

The unworthiest to be nam'd

amongst your flock,

J. P.

To

To the Reader.

Christian Reader,



Nity in judgement amongst the Saints, is the promised blessing of another age, but Unity in affection is our present duty confessed by all, though the practice hereof be the care of few; witnesse the bitter pens, and railing lines of men professing the feare of God, each against his brother, ith faith, to the scandall of Religion, and scorne of Profession, dishonour of God, and disgrace of the Gospel, the joy of the Jesuite, and hazard of the kingdome, the stumbling of others coming into the paths of life, seeing them trac'd with Lions, and Bears, and Wolves, and Tygres, in stead of Lambs and Doves, the meek Saints of the most high God, as if they had gotten a speciall dispensation in this present age, to slander the persons, traduce the actions, reproach the names of their dearest brethren, to fight the Lords battels with the Devils weapons, and to trample under foot that royall Law of their liege Lord, *This is my commandement, that you love one another.* In this present Discourse thou shalt not observe (allowance afforded to humane frailty,) the least tincture of that *unchristian* strain, the minde of the Lord, and truth of Christ being the mutuall designe of my opponent and my self: I have not altered one word of his Letter, only whereas he writ it entire, I have presented thee with each *Argument*, and immediate *Replies*, with a different character between the one and the other, for thy more distinct apprehension of both. I say no more, but prove, and approve, and the Lord direct thy heart into the knowledge and love of the truth.

I. P.

My deare Friend;



You are not ignorant, how respectfull and reverent I have carried my self towards the Congregationall Way, almost ever since you knew mee, and daily am, both praying and reading, that I may be fully perswaded in mine own heart whether that, or the other Way, called Presbyterian, be the Way of God. For this end, I have given my self to the perusal of Mr. Goodwins Theomachia, and his justification of it against Mr. Prynne, and so farre as my judgement reaches, he gets the better of him; but yet some doubts I have, to which I cannot pick answers out of both his books. I dare not be guilty of that which hee so much pleads against, blind obedience, implicit faith. I must not take up Religion by the lumps (as once Mr. Thomas Goodwin said) I must not pin my faith upon the sleeve of any person or persons upon earth, though never so holy or learned, as not knowing whither they may carry it; the best of men are but men at best: both God and man will expect from me, that I be able to render a Scripturall Reason of my faith and conscience, and therefore I request you earnestly, to improve your interest in some friend (you know I have no acquaintance with any Divine of that Way) to communicate their light to mee in the following particulars, and doubtlesse, it will be an addition to my charitableness towards that Way, if not quite pull me into it; for 'tis my full purpose of heart, to fall down before the truth when I meet it, and know it; I will be their's (what ere come on't) that I find to have not the strongest hand, but argument.

Deare Sir,

The spirit of sobriety and Christian moderation doth so sweetly look through your lines, casting such a gracious aspect of meeknesse, humility, with all lovely and Christian ingenuity and modesty, that upon the first reading thereof, I desired to ingage my self into your Christian acquaintance, and to return an answer (being desired hereunto) according to my judgement unto your Letter,

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Letter, being much encouraged by the spirit of your writing, which promiseth mee a candid and an ingenuous interpretation of my mean indeavours, and as the first fruits thereof, I shall humbly desire these things of you.

First, That you will please to passe by what you observe weak, and wanting, (whereof you may find more then enough) and to bestow your more serious considerations upon any thing (if such a thing can be found) which you may judge more valid; the purest gold may be found in the grossest earth; and arguments for truth are oftentimes like neighbours in their vicinity: the poor, weak, and insufficient, have the rich, able and more sufficient for their support and comfort: truth is welcome to a gracious heart, though evidenced but by one or two sound arguments, when many shall say, Lo, it is here, or there, and cannot shew it.

Secondly, That you would be a Midwife to any argument which you judge pregnant, and which hath truth in the belly thereof, having strength to conceive, but not to bring forth; surely the sons of truth cannot but help the truth in straits, which often suffers through the great insufficiencie of the abettors thereof; the hearts of the Saints sometimes can better defend the truth discovered then their tongues or pens; a nimble wit, and learned head prove not alwayes the truths friend; but Sir, I do not pre-judge you.

Thirdly, That if we cannot agree in *this* truth, yet wee may love one another in *the* truth; let this be written in letters of gold upon the foreheads of all the Saints, **HOLINES TO THE LORD, AND LOVE TO THE BRETHREN:** Faith and Love are the golden pillars, supporting the hearts of the Saints together in the spirit of which love, I come to your arguments.

Fourthly, That no case is so cleer, but some question may be raised about it, to which present satisfaction may not be given; it is sufficient if the main things things be justified.

ARGUMENT I.

I*t is be granted that the Churches in the Apostles time were Congregational,* (for all nationall profession in the world was either Jewish

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Jewish or Heathenish) yet if they were to be the president of the form of Church-ordering and government for ever under the Gospel, how could all the Churches the Apostles had constituted up and down the world, yea, and all particular Christians be so corrupted, as to suffer the government and worship of God to be taken from them so easily, as that none (that I can beare of) are found upon record, to have stood up for Christ, and the truth, but Nationall Church-government was brought in? and we cannot learn that there was any s^{er}ious contestation against it. I do not think there can be named one truth of God that Antichrist, or any other Hereticus fought against, but its possible with a little search or study to name those persons that disputed, or writ, or suffered in the defence of it, and stood in the gap to keep out the error, only in this, all the Christian Churches in the world suffer'd the government of Christ (which is so deare to the heart of a Saint) to be destroy'd, and a false Antichristian government and worship to be obtruded on them, and all sides are silent in the businesse; Where is the Scribe? is there no Disputer, no Martyr to be found? what, not one that retained any spark of zeal for Christ, that after ages could speak of, either of the approbation or detestation, for willingly suffering shame, spoiling of goods, banishment, death, rather then Christ should be pull'd down in his worship, and a Nationall false Church-government set up in the roome of it? I cannot but wonder that all Christian Churches shou'd fall at once into such a dead sleep, to suffer the evil One thus to pluck up, and thus to plant; or else, if their eyes were open, I cannot but call it the greatest piece of cowardise that ever the Churches of Christ were guilty of, to stand idle, speechlesse spectators; where was the valour of their faith? Heb. 11. 33. 34. Or if they did dispute and suffer for it, I cannot but think it the greatest unfaithfulness and oversight the Churches were ever guilty of, not to transmit the story to posterity.

REPLY.

First, this argument impleadeth Presbyterie as well as Congregational government; for where read we of sufferers for Presbytery? Secondly, To come more directly to the point, you grant the Churches constituted by the Apostles Congregational; now if wee shew this practice of theirs was intended, as a pattern for us, and so taken by the most Primitive Churches, we hope your demand will be

be satisfied, though wee could not distinctly shew you why none appeared in the defence of it — of which anon.

First, God and nature do nothing in vain, was the saying of the ancient Naturalists; the Spirit of God did so distinctly set down the manner of the constitution of the Jewish Church by *Moses*, that posterity may have a distinct pattern as well as a rule to walk by; the Holy Ghost hath to some purpose surely, so punctually noted the manner of gathering and governing the Churches planted by the Apostles, and what can this purpose be, but our imitation in things lawfull and possible? for all in the new, as well as in the old Testament, are written for our learning, and *follow me*, saith the Apostle, and that by way of forbearing, and negatively, as by way of doing, and affirmatively; that is, wee may not do what they did not, when they might, and the nature of the thing seemed to require it, (as the subjecting particular Churches to a combination of Elders, which should have ordinary authority over the severall Congregations) which they might have done, as well as to keep up the government in one city, which they did; and as well as the Church of *France* at this day, though under persecution, yet keep their government; and when by reason of the paucity of believers, and the temptation of persecution, they had much need of the help of government, and no hinderance why they might not, seeing though by reason of persecution they might have been hindered for a time, and in some places, yet the rule of such a government, if it had been the will of God, had been usefull, and though they had been disturbed in one place, yet it would have been exercised in some other; this was a sufficient argument for God to use, *Jer. 7. 31.* they did — *which I commanded them not*: and for the Apostle, *Heb. 7. 14.* of which *Moses* spake nothing, *Ergo*, God intended it not. And so affirmatively, what they did for substance, we must: Hence *Gualter* in the end of his Comment on the *Acts*, sayes they are not to be listened unto that tell us the way and practice of the Apostles in constituting Churches, is not a pattern for us to follow.

Secondly, The Churches in the first and second hundred yeeres after Christ, did take the Apostles practice for their pattern, and therefore every Church did transact all their ordinary affaires within themselves, as admission of members, choyce and ordination of

Independency accused and acquitted.

of officers, excommunication of scandalous persons, depolition of their officers, where just cause was; in difficult cases indeed, they used the counsell and help of other Churches, but as being ingaged thereunto only out of the bond of mutuall love and fellowship; not of necessity or subjection; and where any Church was more famous for gifts, numbers, Ministers, &c. to these they gave the greater respects, and did more depend upon their guidance; till this voluntary and occasionall office of love became a custome, viz. for the lesser and obscurer Churches, to do nothing without the greater; and for the greater, to exercise inspection, and some kinde of jurisdiction towards the lesser, by way of charge and office; till in the third Century it was by the Council of Nice — established by a Canon for a Church-law; at which time *Antichrist* had made much progresse towards his usurpation: For proof of all which, I shall shew you some of the words of the Centurie Writers touching this Argument; and first of the constitution of Churches planted by the Apostles: *1. Cent. lib. 2. cap. 7. de gubernatione Eccles. titul. de consociatione, &c.* If it be said these consisted of many congregations, and so were *Presbyteriall*, I answer, it cannot be proved they were so; secondly, nor disproved, that they were one congregation; because we reade so often, both in Scripturall and Ecclesiasticall story that they had one Eldership, not severall over them, and that they all met upon one great occasion together, as upon the choice or depolition of Ministers, excommunication of members, &c. and if they did meet in severall places, yet having one Eldership over them, and not severall Elderships for the severall companies, and not being tied any of them to come to any one place more then another; it doth no more argue they were many congregations, or hinder their being one (though inconvenient to be governed by reason of its vastnesse) then it doth in *Holland*, where the case is so, or then in some great parishes in and about *London*; where, though they meet in one place, yet cannot meet all together, by reason of the multitude, being above 10000. in some parishes, unlesse at severall times, if it were so; that they had been *Presbyteriall* in a city, yet it is far different from that government that makes many towns & cities one Church, and drawes them to subjection to one common *Presbytery*, and that in ordinary, against which many Reasons might be given, though the other were admitted.

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Thirdly,

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Thirdly, If the Churches of those times had not so judged that the Way the Apostles left Churches in was to be their pattern, as it had been easie for them to order it; (as afterward their posterity did into Episcopacie) so had it been more advantage and easie to them, to have united many Churches together into one body, and to set one Councell and President over it, for the suppressing of Heresies, Schismes, &c. which yet they did not, till times grew more corrupt, and which at this day is the state of the Papacie.

Fourthly, Though this might suffice, yet I shall now shew you how it might come to passe, that this received truth might be lost, and no notice left of any contending for it.

First, greater truths then this of government have been stolen from the Church without any great reluctancy: As far as appears; as the reading of the Scriptures by the people, transubstantiation of the bread in the Sacrament, adoration of the Host, the Masse it self, taking the cup from the people, &c. which the subtilty of men taking advantage by the negligence and cowardise of the people, brought in without much opposition till long after.

Secondly, the monuments of antiquity in this kinde, are very defective; first, by the notable carelesse of Writers in those times, of which, *Isidorus, apud Illyricum, in Refut. Brin. pag. 15.* an Author of no mean credit complains, It is a singular grief to me (saith he) when I call to minde, how diligently the actions of *Alexander, Scipio, Annibal, Pompey, Cesar, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle,* and other Captains and Philosophers, have been noted, that there is no perill of their perishing, but the doings of the Apostles (except such as are set down in sacred Scripture) Martyrs and Saints of our Religion; yea, and of the Church it self, whether growing up, or at full age, are covered in deep silence; for these things which are written, excepting a few only, are corrupted with feigned inventions, &c. thus hee a man by profession a Papist. Secondly, because of the prevalence of the *Romish* faction, whereby all monuments, almost, that seemed to oppose the intended usurpation (as the ancient government of the Churches especially did) were either suppressed, or some way violated, as (amongst many others) *Dr. James* hath discovered at large in his book entitled, *The Corruption of Fathers, &c.* But,

Lastly,

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Lastly, to give you a more direct answer, there have not been wanting defenders of the liberties of the Churches in this particular; for seeing it is evident by the first, second and third particular in this answer, that both in the Apostles times, and next ages after, the Churches were governed each by themselves (as in respect of authority out of their own body) if there were any that resisted those that invaded that liberty, those are the examples of suffering (or at least contesting) for this government, but the Bishops were the first that usurped the power of many Churches, in ordinary, and these were often resisted by word, writing and fact, as appears, not only by *Aerius* (who was counted an Heretique for his labour) but also by *Jerom*, who saith, that Bishops were brought in to prevent Heresies and Schismes, but that the Churches were anciently governed by the joynt counsell of the Elders. Now this was either by the Elders of the same Church, or if with others, it was a conjunction by way of Christian fellowship and society, not by jurisdiction, authority, and necessity, (as wee saw before) I adde, that the sufferings of so many in opposition to Papall government even in the ancient times, is an argument in a negative sense, that there hath been sufferings for Church-government, because they would not submit to a false government: To conclude this argument, I shall endeavour at better leisure to give you some particular instances out of the story, which may more fully satisfie this Querie.

Insigniores Ecclesie, &c. They which were more eminent Churches (say they) were in some honour because of the Apostles that taught in them, and because of their Ministers that were more excellent for learning and constancy, and likewise of the benefits that those Churches did afford to other neighbour Churches, but they had no other power over other Churches, then by mutuall offices in things belonging to the edification of the whole Church, to afford them their help: and then instances in particular Churches.

2. The Churches in the next age after the Apostles, Cent. 2. cap. 7. tit. 1. de consecratione Ecclesiarum. Ceterum si quis probator auctor, &c. If (say they) any man look into the approved Authors of this age, hee shall find, that the form of government was almost like a popular government; for every Church had equall

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power,

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power, to preach the Word of God purely, to administer the Sacraments, to absolve and excommunicate heretiques, and wicked men, — to elect, call and ordain Ministers, and upon sufficient grounds to depose them, to call assemblies and Synods, — in doubtfull things, and that were controversall, to require the opinions of others, to judge and determine them. Further, the neighbour Churches for charity and edification sake, not for any superiour jurisdiction, but for the command of Christ concerning mutuall love, in their necessity craved the help of their neighbour Churches, and also afforded theirs to them: — in more weighty questions, all the Churches or Elders of that Province, or else the most of the Teachers came together, and determined by common advice what was to be done; for the faithfull in *Africa* (saith *Eusebius*, quoted by them in that place) came often from many places together, and examined the new doctrines, and pronounced them wicked, and rejecting the heretic, they cast and excommunicated it out of the Church.

The Churches that were farther off, in other Provinces, consulted with other Churches by letters, which they did generally, or by common consent subscribe; this new prophesie (saith *Serapio* in *Euseb.* cited by the *Cen.*) is refuted and rejected by all the brotherhood which is in all the world.

Tit. de Synodis privatis each Church (that things might be better ordered) had their Synod or assemblies or Church-meetings, in which the Rector (or Pastor) the Elders, the Deacons, and also the people did deliberate and determine of things belonging to the government of the Church.

The Churches in the third hundred year, *Cen. 3. cap. 7. Tit. de Synodis privatis in principio* Now that the jurisdiction of the great Churches over the lesse was established, and the authority of metropolitans determined by the *Nicene Council*; yet, if any businesse happened, which could not be perfected without the rest, both Ministers & people, then they came together and dispatched them with common advice, without the calling of the Churches of the same Province: So *Cyprian* (cited by them) *Epist. 1. 3. cap. 10.* From the beginning of my being Bishop, (or Pastor) I determined to do nothing without your counsell (hee speaks to the Elders and Deacons) nor without the consent of the people, by my own

own private opinion. — In these assemblies in other Churches, there were few orders made by the Bishops or Pastors, and afterwards approved by the Church, unlesse it was in Rome, according to the efficacy of the *mysterie of Iniquity*. (they are the Authors words) some Bishops made decrees as *Damasus, Calixtus, &c.* By all which it appeares, that the Churches most Primitive, were ignorant of any necessity or law lying on them, to be governed by one Church, or more, or of associating with any, but as they saw cause, and by the law of charity, neither understood there was any Provinciaall, much lesse Nationall or universall and ministeriall and governing Church, which must by way of authority dispose of all the affaires of the particular Churches.

Object. But they excommunicated in their Assemblies of many Churches?

Ans. 1. So did they in each particular Church, as of their own right, and consulted not with others, unlesse the cause was difficult.

2. The excommunication was, rather of the opinion by damning and condemning of it, then of persons.

3. If there were such excommunication of persons, yet it was done by the willing consent of the Churches, or else for themselves; those Churches that met not for others, unlesse by consequent, that he who is excommunicated out of one Church, if it be duly performed, is excommunicated out of all.

ARGUMENT II.

WHether not the civill Magistrate a power to set up and establish by a law such a worship, as an Assembly of godly Divines shall present to them to be according to the Word of God, as well as they had a power to pull down false worship, Popery, Episcopacie, Arminianisme, and such grosse errors and innovations as had justified out the true servants and service of God? and thus they did with the approbations and acclamations of all those that professed the power of godlinesse, of whose Way or Sect for ever they were. I never heard of any such that accused them for stretching beyond their line therein. If the subject matter of Politicall administration be merely humane matters, why did not Congregationall Divines inform them as much, but were silent while they had their hands thrust deep into Church-affaires, and things spiritual? Why did not their

jealousie

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jealousie that the Parliament break out when they saw them begin to dash the stone against that stone, but gave thanks to God for them & their doing; but now when they have come to set up, and it proves a worship against their judgement and conscience, they are reproved, and have no power at all in things Ecclesiasticall, but every man must enjoy his conscience, worship and way? If they once had a power to pull down, why have they not now power to pull down in the like case, with the like proportioned approbation? and if in things Ecclesiasticall they have a power to pull down, why not to set up too? That the civill Magistrate shall have a power in things spirituall, and yet no power, is a myserie unto mee.

R E P L Y.

1. **T**He government the Magistrate hath pulled down, was erected as a Law of the kingdome, and by that power was enabled to the persecution of the Saints, and disturbance of the State, which was the defection of the Magistracie of these times. Now when the Magistrates shall not only withdraw their power, but also prohibie the further exercise thereof in the persecution of the Saints and disturbance of the State; we suppose it is no more then according to their just power, and therefore do rejoyce therein.

2. The Magistrates just doing any thing according to the joynt consent, desire, approbation, and congratulatory acclamations of all the Saints, is no good argument to prove a lawfull power in the Magistrate to do things contrary to the joynt consent, desires, &c. of all the Saints. Herod and Pilate, Felix and Agrippa, had a just power to release Christ and Paul, &c. but that doth not argue that their power was just in delivering them up unto whipping, imprisonment, death, &c. It was indeed *potestas*, but not *potestas*, might, but not right, and it is the latter, I suppose, that you mean.

3. We did never deny the Magistrate a lawfull power to intermeddle with that kinde of Church-government or doctrine, (opinion or practice) which shall most dangerously intermeddle with the State it self; and thereby prove evidently hurtfull, and apparently destructive therunto, and so did the government whereof you speak, which was the ground of that act of abolishing the same. When Congregationall or Presbyteriall government, or the professors thereof be found in their principles and generall practices, under-

and ministers of the peace and welfare of the kingdom, raising up wars and trouble to maintain the same, it is high time for the Magistrate, who is mainly to *maintain the peace*, to pull them down, and no longer to tolerate the same, and such is the instance which you speak of.

4. Those Christian or unchristian Magistrates may have a lawfull power and authority to destroy *Antichrist*, which may have no lawfull authority to appoint lawes and rules for the government of the Churches of Jesus Christ, and to enforce the same contrary to their judgements and consciences; Cyrus may have a just warrant from God for the ruining of *Babylon*; but not for the compulsion of *Sion* to worship God according to his thoughts of the will of God therein, all Magistrates may, and ought to assist and preserve the Churches of Jesus Christ from those that would ruine and destroy them; but that any magistrate hath power to compell the Saints of God what to believe in matters of faith, and what to practice in matters of immediate worship (especially in things that are of an intricate and deep cogitation, and controversall among the godly learned), (which is the main businesse in hand, between the Presbyterian and Independent party) is beyond any ground that I can yet perceive from the Scriptures; but we shall meet with this again in another of your Arguments.

A R G U M. III.

VVhy do not our Congregationall Divines write to the Brethren of New-England, and convince them of their error, who give (as some say) the civill Magistrate a power to question doctrines, censure errours? sure we are, some have been imprisoned, some banished, that [pleaded] Religion and meere conscience, and were no other wise disturbers of the civill peace, then the Congregationall Way is like to be there: So that if our Magistrates and Presbyters must be guided by *Catholicks* advice, and suffer all opinions till God disclaim and fight against them from heaven, why is not his advice sent over to them, lest they should fight against any Way that calls God father? If Old-England be said to persecute, for suppressing Sects and Opinions, because it bea-ting the truth, and civill peace, why may not the same name be put upon New-England, who are found in the same work and Way? and if both

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both be guilty, were wisdom and piety for our Congregational Divines to cast the first stone at themselves; I mean, their Congregational Brethren, to convince and persuade them to suffer all Opinions amongst them, this would be an argument that they walk in all simplicity and sincerity of spirit preferring Gods will and the naked truth, above any ends of their own, (whereof some suspect them, how justly, God the searcher of hearts knows) and hence their arguments and persuasions would be more easily received at home.

REPLY.

THis is an Argument, or rather an Insinuation to the accusing of our Brethren, then to the finding out the truth; but to this I answer:

First, in relation to our Brethrens practice in *New-England*, I answer you in this case, as the father of the blind man answered the Pharisees about the manner of procuring his sons sight, *Joh. 9. 21.* He is of age, ask him; so say I, they are able to answer for themselves, if not, they stand or fall to their own Master; But,

Secondly, I suppose it is easier to affirm than to prove that any were imprisoned or banished merely for their consciences, we have a common Proverb, *That untruths lose nothing by distance of place*, and by often reporting, some affirm it hath been so, as you say; others deny the same; for my part, because I have more reason to believe the one than the other (because the Magistrates themselves deny any persecution merely for a mans private conscience, in the case of *Mr. Hutchinson*, See the book [the rise and end of *Arminianism* in *New-England*, p. 46. of the first Edition;]) I had rather looke unto these things that do concern us at home, then to go so far to accuse our brethren abroad.

Thirdly, I humbly suppose it is out of your certain knowledge that the Congregational Divines have not at all written unto their Brethren of *New-England* about this business, and have not received satisfaction herein, I suppose likewise, I have as much reason, if not more, to affirm that they have, as you that they have not; But,

Fourthly, suppose they have not written, this will prove but the remissness of their duty at the most, and will not facilitate and ease the business in the least; doubtless the Presbyterian party in other

other parts of the world not all things according to the mind of God; even in the judgements of the Brethren Presbyterians of this Nation; and if so, may not the same thing be retorted upon them which you do here upon these?

Fifthly, As for those jealousies which you say are in some about the Congregationall Brethrens *simplicity and sincerity of spirit in preferring Gods Will and the naked Truth above any ends of their own*, as Gods royall Prerogative in searching all hearts, should stifle such misprisions, and quit all such unworthy surmisings, till better prooffe appeare; so any mans reasons (not mastered with prejudice and discontent) should fully discharge all such vain, unworthy, and uncharitable imaginations concerning their Brethren; for except mens ends and aims should be sorrow, trouble, reproach and contempt, perplexity and misery, penury and want, what other ends can they have? Are not some of these for the present, and all of them for the future, the threatened issues, products and consequences of their wayes and practices? Surely men should make a better use of their own personall weaknesse, viz. their own sinfull ends and aims, and by-respects in their own hearts, then to make them the measure and rule to judge of their Brethrens hearts by; every man should think better of his brother then of himself; surely the men of their jealousies are not usually steered up and down from one place to another, by the golden lure of an hundred, or two or three hundred a year, as many of their censorious Judges are, but it is worthy our observation; the Saints of our most high God, many times are chiefly charged for those things whereof they are least guilty, and where they are most innocent, and therefore most able to beare the same. Thus *Joseph* for incontinency; *Elisba* for the troubler of *Israel*, (though indeed the horsemen and chariots of *Israel*;) thus *David* for seeking *Sauls* life, whose heart smote him for but cutting off one of the skirts of his garment; thus *Jesus Christ* for a deceiver (who was the truth itself,) and for a familiar with the Prince of the Devils, who was indeed the great enemy to him and his works: and as it was from the beginning, so it is now, the humble, the meek, the simple-hearted, the peaceable, the most forward for reformation; yea, when their zeale therein cast them into imprisonments, forrowes, troubles, and these men (I say) are under jealousies, nay, evident and express censures

condemners of being proud, perverse, deceitfull, disturbers of the peace of the State, hinderers of Reformation, with many such like and unworthy reproaches, but the faithfull Witness and Judge of all hearts will one day bring forth their innocency as the light, and in the mean while support their spirits under all those hard speeches, thoughts and calumnies of this world.

ARGUMENT. IV.

THUS 1. 10, 11. There are many unruly talkers, and deceivers, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, whose mouths must be stopped. But Church-censure or sentence of non-communication, will not stop their mouths; for (as is in the Apologeticall Narration) they being of another way and judgement, it binds not their conscience, and so dare pass at the sentence of Non-communication or Excommunication; let the Presbyterians pronounce a sentence against Congregational Churches; or let Congregational Churches pronounce any sentence against Presbyterians, Antinomians, Anabaptists, who will teach things, as they think, which they ought not, and see when this sentence stops their mouths: But Paul says, Their mouths must be stopped, Church-censure does it not; therefore, if they must be stopped, the civil Magistrate must strike in to stop them, else they will ever be open to subvert whole houses. In the Apostles times, when Church-censure could not reach to, was left to the power and providence of God to subdue and master, and supply the office of a Magistrate; but now when God has blest a Christian Commonwealth with a Christian Magistrate, if Church-censure will not stop deceivers mouths, but still they will subvert mens precious souls, the Magistrate must exercise his power for they must be stopped.

REPLY.

First; whereas the Apostle tells *Tim*, that such unruly talkers and deceivers mouths must be stoped, it is cleer, that it is *Tim* that must stop them, for other wayes the Apostle writes unto him to no purpose, and hee directs him likewise which way hee should stop their mouths, viz. vers 13. Rebuke them sharply, that they may be found in the faith, and in the first verse of the next Chapter, but speak thou the things which become sound doctrine; and verse the 8th, he faith,

faith of sound speech that it cannot be condemned. Surely, in that sense that *Titus* may be said to hinder them from condemning sound speech, he may be said to stop their mouths; you know in Scripture language, a mans mouth is said to be stopt, when he is not able to gain-say the power of reason and arguments that are opposed unto him: So *Luke* 21. 15. Christ promiseth his Disciples to give them a mouth and wisdom, which all their adversaries should not be able to gain-say nor resist; that is, which shall stop their mouths, viz. argumentatively: So *Acts* 6. 10. *Stephen* so spake, that the *Cyrenians* and *Alexandrians* were not able to resist the wisdom and spirit by which hee spake; So *Matth.* 22. 34. Christ is said to put the *Sadducees* to silence, that is, to stop their mouths, and *vers.* 46. the *Pharisees* likewise were not able to answer him a word, and (to name no more places) *1 Pet.* 2. 5. the will of God is, that by well doing wee should put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. You know there is nothing doth more open their mouths, then the well doing of the Saints; but they open not their mouths like men: so here their mouths must be stopt, viz. by *Titus* his sound words: this I humbly conceive is as cleer as the day; and to make it so, you have the same phrase, *Rom.* 3. 19. that every mouth must be stopped.

Secondly, whereas you say, that that which Church-censure could not do was left to the power and providence of God to subdue and master, and supply the office of a Magistrate, I answer, that though it was left to the power and providence of God to subdue and master, yet that this was to supply the office of a Magistrate is but *petitio principii*, and therefore your inference, that now when God hath blest a Christian Commonwealth with Christian Magistrates, hee must stop their mouths, is likewise taken before given.

Thirdly, if by stopping their mouths, you mean directly according to the literall sense of the words, the Magistrate neither can stop their mouths, except he will cut out their tongues, or saw up their lips, &c. for they will be speaking where ever they are.

ARGUMENT V.

Galat. 5. 11, 12. There were some that preached circumcision and Christ together; this bookeish doctrine much prevailed, exceedingly

ingly troubled the Churches; and Paul fights and goes out this wish; I would they were cut off that trouble you. The question is, what kind of cutting off he means, is it by Church-censure? then he might soon have eased himself and the Churches of them, himself might have excommunicated them, as he did Hymeneus and Alexander, 1 Tim. 1. 20. on whom he pronounced the Church-censure, when they had been gathered together; and his spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to have delivered such up unto Satan; 1 Cor. 5. 4, 5. but this he did not, or if he did, it would not serve his and the Churches turn; he said they still groan under the misery of false Teachers; therefore it must be means of a cutting off by some speciall extraordinary providence of God, their destruction by the divine hand of justice. Whence I think this note may genuinely be collected, (The Churches of God may be pestered with false Teachers, which no Church-censure will forcut off, as that they can be freed of them, and therefore the civill Magistrate by his power (God having left off extraordinary manifestations of justice against him and his Churches enemies) must cut them off, and not suffer the Churches to be troubled and sowed with the leaven of their doctrine.) I say: show hands and say Amen.

R E P L Y.

In Answer, by cutting off them, you suppose, not to be means by Church-censure, and you give reasons for it, but you think it was some speciall extraordinary providence of God in bringing to pass their destruction, and I think so too, though it may be means also of Church-censure, which the Apostle could have wished, might have been done; but the state of those Churches could not bear it; but for that you infer that because now Church-censure cannot reach them, therefore the civill Magistrate by his power (God having left off extraordinary manifestations of justice against him and his Churches enemies) must cut them off, and not suffer the Churches to be troubled and sowed with such leaven of their doctrine. But, Sir, I humbly deny your inference; for if Magistrates have a lawfull power to supply the extraordinary instances of justice, which God hath given in the punishment of sin, if, I say, Magistrates have a power thus to do in your sense, why then the Magistrate should kill and destroy liars, because God by an extraordinary stroke of justice did kill Ananias and Sappira, Acts 5.

for

for telling a lie, the Magistrate should destroy men for sleeping at hearing the Word, because Eutychus by an extraordinary hand of divine justice fell down dead from an upper loft where hee was sleeping when hee should be hearing the Word of God. **Act 20.** Nay, which is more absurd, Magistrates should then omit the execution of justice upon more notorious sinners, and destroy the less guilty sinners; yea, and should be at an uncertainty herein, because Gods justice hath reached some, and spared others guilty of the same sins; yea, much greater, which I presume you will judge absurd; for the Magistrate is to execute justice according to a known just law, and not according to the example of God, who may destroy for an idle thought, if hee pleaseth.

ARGUMENT VI.

Rev. 2. God has something to say against the Church in Pergamos; because shee had those that taught the doctrine of Balaam, and those also that held the doctrine of the Nicolaitans (i.e.) they had them still, their mouths open, teaching these doctrines, not suppressed, not taken out of the way. And something he had against the Churches in Thyatira, because they suffered that woman Jezabel to teach and seduce his servants, either those that actually were his servants, or those that possibly (for aught they knew) might have been his servants; her they should not have suffered to have taught and spread her infectious errors, though damnable, shee being a Prophetsse, was able to have said much for her Way, and would have pleaded conscience too, yet 'tis a charge brought up against them, that shee is suffered, and to mee it seemes by the circumstances to run thus; verl. 22. Behold (as if hee had said) though you have failed in the execution of justice upon her, yet behold, I will cast her into great tribulation, and will kill her and her children with death; I will not suffer her, I will not faile in doing justice upon her and her children, as you sinfully have done. Church-censure only would not have hindered her from teaching, but shee was not to have been suffered to teach, before a further power ought to have come in for the suppression of her and her followers.

REPLY.

R E P L Y.

First, I humbly conceive, that Church-censures, if duly and timely performed, would have prevented this reproofe, both to the one Church and the other; and the neglect hereof, or (which is worse) the not suppressing these false doctrines by a powerfull preaching against the same, was the ground of these sharp and bitter reproofs, and my Reason is this; It is evident they had not the help of the Magistrate therein: for in respect of the politicall state, it is said of the Church of *Pergamos* that there dwelt where Satan had his seat, or throne, and where *Antipas* (Gods faithfull servant) suffered martyrdom; so that they had no help in that respect from the Magistrate, and if so, I suppose you will not say the Church could imprison, banish, &c. so that I presume their neglect must be of something which was in the power of the Church; And,

Secondly, whereas you say, Church-censures would not have hindered these proceedings in the Church, I humbly conceive the contrary, because, if the Church officers and members had examined these doctrines as they ought, and upon the finding of them erroneous, had proceeded to censure them, in case they would not forbear the promulgation thereof, from that time the Church was not to permit them to preach any more amongst them, neither should they give them any more hearing.

Thirdly, If a means sanctified by God to an end, do not alwayes effect it, we may not therefore devise another, Magistracy doth not suppress all vice.

A R G U M E N T V I I.

Most evident it is, that the civill Magistrate in the Commonwealth of Israel was supreme in things Ecclesiasticall, 1 Chro. 15. David assembles all Israel to Jerusalem, gives the Priests and Levites their charge, orders the things of the Ark of God, ver. 1. to 18. 2 Chron. 15. It is said, King Asa took courage, and put away the abominable idols; and renewed the Altar of the Lord, and made a Covenant, and whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel, should be put to death, whether

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whether great or small, man or woman. Now let it be shewne, where God took this power from the civill Magistrate under the new Testament; why the Magistrate has not as much power, or the same power in matters Ecclesiasticall, as then hee had? In true, the Apostles were very silent, and close in giving the civill Magistrate his just power in things spirituall, but I conceive this closeness of theirs to be their prudence, and that in these two respects.

1. There was no Magistrate then, but Heathenish or Jewish, and so understood not Gods will in his worship; and so had any thing been commanded, it had been but a carnall commandment, humane, which Christians must have refused, and therefore 'twas not their wisdom to speak or write much to this point, lest it had proved a snare.

2. Had they spoken much of a Christian Magistrate, that should have power in things civill and Ecclesiasticall, and be able to defend Christianity against all its enemies, this would have bred jealousy in the Roman State, and Christian Churches would have been looked upon as a conspiring traitorous generation, and persecutions would have soon been raised up against them; It was the Apostles wisdom to keep Cæsars head free from jealousies, that so the Churches might enjoy Christ, and their consciences the better, therefore they spake so little of the Christian Magistrate in things civill and Ecclesiasticall, well knowing, that afterwards would not be at a losse, or stand in this point, but might look upon the examples of the godly Kings of Israel for their imitation, (never being repealed) and in David, Josiah, Aza, might see what was their right and just power in matters both of Church and State.

R E P L Y.

First, it is not to be denyed, but that the civill Magistrates in the Commonwealth of Israel were supreme in things Ecclesiasticall, but upon such grounds and reasons as were peculiar unto them; and therefore not presidentiall for Christian Magistrates under the Gospel, except upon the same or the like grounds; For,

First, the godly Kings of Israel and Judah were types of Christ: thus David, whom you instance, it is said of him, Psal. 75. 3. The earth and all the inhabitants thereof are dissolved; I beare up the pillars thereof, which is true only of Jesus Christ the antitype, who laid the foundations of the earth, Heb. 1. 10. and upholdeth all things by the

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the word of his power; ver. 31. Now, when the Antitype is come into the world, Jesus Christ in the room of his father David; the law henceforth is to proceed from his lips, and the government is to be upon his shoulders, and of his Kingdome there shall be no end, Isa. 9. 6, 7. So Moses was a chief magistrate unto Israel, unto whom they were to hearken, untill Christ, whom he did typifie, was come, and of him he saith himself, Deuter. 18. 15. *A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like unto me, him shall you heare in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you: And it shall come to passe, that whosoever shall not heare that Prophet, that soul shall be destroyed from among the people.* Acts 3. 22, 23. The Kings of Israel and Judah whom you mention, are types of Christs kingly office, Christ therefore being come, the types are gone; for though kings of Commonwealths may be of a morall consideration, and so perpetuall; yet kings as the head of the Church in things Ecclesiasticall were types, and therefore abolished; and by the same argument, as you will maintain the power of Christian kings over the Churches of God in things meerly Ecclesiasticall, from the examples of the kings of Israel and Judah, who were types of Christ, by the same arguments may the Pope maintain a chief Priesthood under the Gospel after the example of Aaron, and the rest of that order successively.

Secondly, the godly kings of Israel and Judah were directed by the infallible mouth of God, and guidance of his Spirit, even in these Ecclesiasticall busineses; and thus David, whom you instance to give the Priests and Levites their charge, 1 Chron. 15. if you look into 1 Chron. 28. 12. he had his direction from the Spirit of God, and ver. 19. David professeth, that the Lord made him understand all the work of this pattern. When you can prove such an infallible guidance and direction by the Spirit of God in matters of Church-government to be the portion of Christian kings under the Gospel, there may be some colour in this argument.

Thirdly, The kings of Israel were Elders of one ministeriall congregation; for the whole Church and State were so, as is evident, and what they did, unless upon expresse, either Text or revelation, was done with the consent of the congregation, 1 Chron. 13. 2. &c.

Fourthly, I do not remember that ever they did banish or otherwise punish all strangers from among them, that were not of their own

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own Religion, or had such a commission so to do, and that these severe lawes about Church-government did belong unto any but their own nation and people, or those that joynd themselves to them; all that acknowledged the seven precepts of Noab they tolerated, *Ainsworth on Gen. 17. 12.*

Fifthly, Most evident it is, that they did suffer severall Sects, and differing Opinions among them, and that of a more dangerous consequence then is the difference that is between the Presbyterian and Independent; as the *Sadducees*, the *Pharisees*, the *Herodians*, *Alexandrians*, &c. And therefore you may after their example plead for the like toleration, or rather for the toleration of those that are of lesse danger.

Sixthly, But if any thing must be added for conclusion, we say as the Christians of old, leaving the dispute of the Magistrates power, in generall, we say this Way being of God, at least in great probability, the Magistrate hath no power to suppress it, (which I desire you to take as a full answer) those kings of *Israel* commanded nothing but the expresse will of God, and that without infringing the liberties of the Congregation, whose consent they had, which two things, if our Magistrates shall do, all that wee shall say, will be, *Go on and prosper.*

Seventhly, Whereas you say, *Let it be shewne where God took this power from the civill Magistrate under the new Testament, &c.* I answer, where wee finde types and ceremonies taken away, there wee finde this power in matters of Church-government taken away, which (though it be not exprest in so many plain words (as many other ceremonies (granted on all hands to be taken away) are not) yet this, with others, is to be understood (as I humbly conceive) in that generall expression of the Apostle, *Gal. 3. 24, 25. The law was a Schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, &c. but after that faith is come, we are no longer under a Schoolmaster; these things being shadows of good things to come, but the body is Christ, Col. 2.* And untill it can be proved that the civill government of the *Jews* had nothing typicall as well as the Church, and that the kings of *Israel* and *Judah* were not typicall, in this particular, I humbly conceive it a sufficient answer to that part of your Argument.

Eighthly, As for the Reasons which you give of the Apostles closenesse (for so your word is) in declaring the power of Christi-

an Magistrates at that time, they are but conjecturall not Scripturall; and therefore may as well be denied by me, as affirmed by you, and that upon as probable grounds.

Your first Reason is, *There was no Magistrate then, but Heathenish, or Jewish, and so understood not Gods will in his worship, and so had any thing been commanded, it had been but a carnall commandement humane, which Christians must have refused, and therefore it was not their wisdom to speak or write much to that point, lest it had proved a snare.*

I answer, that mens not understanding Gods will in his worship (whether Jewish or Heathenish, Magistrate or not Magistrate) could be no just ground why the Apostles should not teach them; (their work being to teach such things which were not before understood) and if any thing had been commanded by them (though Heathenish or Jewish) according to the will of God, their commanding the same had not made the commandement carnall, for I suppose it is not the person commanding, but the nature of the thing commanded, that renders it carnall: For if a Heathen commands that which is the will of God, and a Christian Magistrate that that is not the will of God, it is the Heathens command that must be obeyed, and the Christian Magistrates command that must be disobeyed, because it must be the will of God, and not the authority of man that must be the ground of warranted obedience, and they might have taught it without perill, by shewing, that though he had power in Church-affaires, yet not against their profession, as being of God, which was the only argument they defended it by.

Your second Reason is — *Had the Apostles spoken much of a Christian Magistrates power in things civill and Ecclesiasticall, and be able to defend Christianity against all its enemies, (what you mean by this last clause I know not) this would have bred jealousies in the Romane State, and Christian Churches would have been looked upon as a conspiring trayterous generation; and persecutions would soon have been raised up against them; it was the Apostles wisdom to keep Cæsars be ad from jealousies, that so the Churches might enjoy Christ and their consciences the better, &c.*

I humbly answer, though it be true, the Saints should be as wise as Serpents, yet as innocent as Doves; and herein the Apostles shewed their innoency, in that they kept back nothing of the will of
God

God that was profitable, Acts 20. 20. I suppose this could not be unprofitable; and although every truth must be preached seasonably, yet at one time or another, (your asserting the Apostles supposition of the Saints sufficient understanding the will of God about Christian Magistrates, from Gods will revealed therein, by the example of the Kings of Israel, being only your own conjecture, as I said before, and not Scripture; doth not at all ease this business) for that must first be proved before we can grant it you: and moreover, it is evident the Apostles did not balk or forbear to preach such truths as were every whit as exasperating the Roman Magistrate as this particular you speak of: as that Jesus was both Lord and Christ, Acts 2. 36. and that he should put down all rule and all authority, and power, yea, and that he should reign untill hee hath put down all his enemies under his feet, 1 Cor. 15. 24. yea, and the more they were forbidden to preach, the more they went about preaching, not regarding the command of the Magistrate, when it was beyond the line of his just authority, and many other Scriptures of this nature may be given; and these things (I conceive) may be sufficient answers unto your 7th Argument.

ARGUM. VIII.

I Desire to know if Gamaliel had given the Councell this advice of restraining and letting alone, concerning Theudas or Judas of Galilee, I say, whether the Councell, being able to have demonstrated them and their wayes erroneous, they ought to have consented to him or no; for this is the true state of the Question, and not whether the Ministers and truths of Christ may be suppressed, wee all know this would be fighting against God, to run a hazard no lesse then death, but whether a Councell finding a generation of Teachers erring from the truth, and wilfull in their errors, must then let them alone, and expect that God should fight against them from heaven before they would sentence or smite. I am sure Gamaliel seems to approve of rejoycing in the destruction of those two forementioned, with their followers, when once they were destroyed; and doubtlesse, they were destroyed in an ordinary course of providence, by the Jews, God making no extraordinary or remarkable revelations from heaven against them or their errors, and therefore I conclude, it had been better to have sentenced and quite crushed them in the shell, which had preven-

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red all the mischiefs that were done, the troubles of the State, the subversion of Soules not a few. Alce thinks, through the spectacles that I looke upon the place, Gamaliel seems clearly to imply, that if the Councell could have discovered by any means, them and their doctrine not to have been of God, (as before they had done Theudas and Judas) finding them so pernicious as they did, they might have passed their own sentence upon them, and neither God nor Gamaliel would have reproved them for it, but good service they had done. So that had I been to have spoken to that Text, these three points I should have insisted upon:

1. It is a most dangerous thing to sentence and persecute the servants and truths of God; 'tis no lesse then fighting against God.
2. God sometimes over-powers wicked men (as he did Gamaliel to advise, and the rest of the Councell to submit to his advice) to make way for the servants and truths of God, that they may stand and prosper.
3. As to oppose the truth of God is to fight against God, so to sentence and oppose doctrines which by the cleer light of Scripture, are from men, or of a worse descent, is to fight for God, and do him service: this is implied. I would gladly know, how did God disclaime or renounce from heaven, Theudas and Judas of Galilee, with their errors, that after the Councells forbearing, might be a warrant for their destruction; what contrariety unto God was discovered in their Wayes when they fell upon them, that was not apparent when first they shewed their heads? their opinions catching and kindling in the hearts of many, might have stumbled the Councell into a longer forbearance of them, as being easily of this Interpretation, that God owned them, and they went on in the power of God, and therefore now more dangerous to resist them then before, it consequently must never have parted the value of the least haire of their heads against them, till they had seen fire and darts come down from heaven amongst them. But doublesse, their destruction was no otherwise but thus; the Councell finding their Wayes thwarting Moses and the Prophets were sorry for their thus long forbearance of them, sent out forces, slew and scatter'd them, notwithstanding their consciences, notwithstanding their errors claimed, doublesse, a glorious and high descent. How has God disclaimed the Church of Rome? any otherwise then bee has done Antinomianisme, Anabaptisme? bee has cleerly written their condemnations with his finger in his Word, that all of them stand in enmity and opposition unto him and his providence [seemingly] never owned any Religion more under the Gospel, then it has done Popery, and therefore

therefore why must not their consciences and Ways be refrained from, as well as the others? I cannot yet see, how upon Gamaliels words can be grounded the forbearance, letting alone, any Way, that is once discovered to be not according to the rule, the Analogue of the faith of the Scripture, &c.

R E P L Y.

That question concerning the Councils duty to proceed against *Theudas* and *Judas*, in case it was demonstrated unto them their doctrines were erroneous (notwithstanding Gamaliels advice to the contrary) cannot I conceive be rationally answered, except there had been a certain knowledge of the nature of those errors, and upon supposition that those errors were grosse and dangerous, as it is like they were, even unto insurrection and sedition, I answer, that they ought not to have hearkened unto his advice, but to have proceeded according to rules of justice made in that behalf; and it is not denied, but that the Christian Magistrate hath a coercive power in matters of Religion, in things that are of a morall and capitall consideration, such as are prophane swearings, cursings, blasphemies, and such things; that first are against the light of nature and conscience; yea, secondly, of cursed apostasie from Christ, professedly denying him to be God, or come in the flesh, or wickedly blaspheming him, teaching men so; and thirdly, such as are turbulent, violent, mutinous and factious in raising up parties to the disturbance of the peace of the State, as the late Bishops did; Neither hath Mr. *Goodwin*, in my best observation, said or writ any thing to the contrary in his *Theomachia*, or elsewhere; for I cannot see any such thing in any of his doctrines raised from his Text of that Sermon; and the main point which he prosecuted, and which was (as it were) the spirit and life of all those particular instructions therein contained, was, that, *For any man to endeavour or attempt the suppression of any Doctrine, Practice or Way, that is from God, is to fight against God.*

This point is proved, and cleared and confest on all hands to be a truth of God, and if you look into application, he renders those obnoxious to the wrath of God, who shall exercise any high handed opposition or contestation against any Way, Doctrine or Practice whatsoever, UNTIL they have proof upon proof, demonstration upon demonstration,

monstration, evidence upon evidence; yea, all the security that men in any ordinary way (at least) can have, that such Wayes or Doctrines only pretend God to be the author of them, and that in truth they are not at all from him, but either from man or of a baser parentage. What is this against the just power of a Magistrate in matters of Religion, and no more power then this can you prove, even from the example of the kings of Israel and Judah; and therefore, if you will reduce the Christian Kings and Magistrates unto them as a pattern and example of their power in things spirituall, and make the case directly as it is, you must bring in some instance or other of a difference between the holy and godly Prophets and people of God themselves, and that in a case very difficult and intricate, and hard to be found out from the Scriptures or any of those wayes wherein God did usually reveale his minde, and that in such a case the magistrate did determine the businesse according to his judgement, and compell the dissenting party to submission thereunto, and that according to the approbation of God; and therefore an example for Magistrates under the Gospel: such is the very case in hand, as might be evidently declared. Moreover, there were those that did differ in many things of a very deep and serious consideration (provided they made profession of the Jewish Religion and government they were tolerated) as is very cleer (as I said before;) *Sadduces*, *Pharisees*, and severall other sorts were permitted; neither do I remember where they were compelled against their judgements, either in matter of Profession or Practice, except (as being members of that Church) to the main doctrines, worship and government expressed in the Word; and surely there is far more, and better reasons for the toleration and permission of the Independent, then can be given for the toleration of such persons as the *Jewes* did tolerate, for these agree with Presbyterians in the main grounds of Religion, and principles of the Gospel; these are confest by their Brethren to be holy, godly and learned, and of singular use and benefit, both in Church and Commonwealth, &c. and the toleration of none others are pleaded for in Mr. *Goodwins Theomachia*, from that Sermon which you mention. But wee will not stand on this particular, because it may be one of the corruptions of those times, to suffer such Sects, especially the *Sadduces*, who though (for reasons) not reprov'd by our Saviour, as some other corruptions were
not

not mentioned by him. Wee have said enough before to this Argument: As for those Doctrines which you say you would raise from that Text, if you were to preach upon it, I conceive the two first you mention are indeed very naturall, but how you will draw the third from thence, as naturall from that Text I cannot see; but it would be a digression for mee to meddle with that, and therefore I leave it to your own further consideration.

ARGUMENT IX.

I Desire to know whether that law, Deut. 13. of putting a false Prophet to death, or any one that should entice men from the Way of the true God, there be not morall equity in it, and therefore binde the Magistrate and Churches of God to the end of the world? Calvin and the Church of Geneva burnt a blasphemer, they looked upon the morall equity of that law, Levit. 24. 16. He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord shall surely be put to death, all the Congregation shall stone him; Why should not Christians be as tender of the name of God as the Jewes were? Is not his name as great and glorious, that it may be more securely blasphemed now then it might then? But a Presbyterian president will have but little authority with Congregationall Churches, therefore I desire that Mr. Cotton (one of your own, upon whose learning and judgement the wel-willer to Mr. Prynne (hee that put forth the first answer to his twelve Queries) would have men much to rely) may be heard speak in the point, in his book, entituled Pwring out the seven Vials, on Rev. 16. 4, 5, 6, 7. Verses. His very doctrine is this; Upon the discovery of the deadly corruption of the Sea of Rome, it was a righteous judgement of God, and such as argued him unchangeable, ever like himselfe, that the Priests and Jesuits, who carryed thit Religion up and down the Nations, should be adjudged or condemned to a bloody death. His meaning is evidently this, not because enemies to the civill State, but because they carryed Ordinances, Doctrines up and down the world which were no better then the blood of a dead man, and every soule that drank of them died, therefore they themselves must drink blood. Within a few lines after his doctrine, he quotes Zach. 13. 2, 3. (speaking of the times under the Gospel, 'tis cleer from the first verse, and so doth Mr. Thomas Goodwin interpret it in his triall of the growth of Grace) God will cut off the false Prophet, and if any false Prophet shall arise, his Father

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Father and Mother shall thrust him thorow, because hee speaks lies in the name of the God of truth, he shall not live. Upon which Text, hee thus glosses, It is not spoken of his typicall death (i.) of his death by Church-censure or banishment, which have a kinde of death in them, but of such a death as that he was not worthy to live, because he cast a lie upon the God of Truth, the Oracle of Truth. In his first Reasons of his point he affirms, that no Magistrate ought to have put Paul to death for his errors and blasphemies, because he did all ignorantly, 1 Tim. 1. 14. had the truth been made known to him, hee would not have done as hee did, but such as blaspheme and teach errors wilfully after admonitions twice or thrice, the glorious light of the Gospel shining round about them, those hee affirms, ought to be looked upon with another eye, ought to drink blood.

His first objection is this, In the new Testament we must look for a spirituall death (i.) Church-censure only: He answers, his Text is in the new Testament, not in the old, the new Testament says such are worthy to drink the blood of their own hearts; the holy Ghost saies, hee will have it true according to the Letter; and further answers, that 'twas one of Moses his morall lawes of perpetuall equity, thrusting men away from God is as odious now as then.

In his fifth Use he has these very words, Heresie is no more pleasing to him, nor blasphemie, nor seducing, nor to change the Way of Gods worship, and to draw men to Wayes wherein they cannot enjoy God in peace; murder of soules is no more welcome to God now then of old, and therefore if there were a law to punish such with capitall punishment, it is alike justice in God to enjoyn such lawes in every Christian Commonwealth.

His second Objection is this, Conscience must not be forced, men must not be put to death for their conscience. Hee answers, Heretiques were as conscionable in the old Testament as now; and if any man have a conscience to turn men from God, God would have men have as much conscience to cut them off; glossing upon Tit. 3. 10, 11. thus: He that will not be admonished is rejected, given up to the civil Magistrate to be punished, or put to death, not for his conscience, but because hee sins against his conscience, the cleere shining light of the Gospel. Whereupon I thinke it followes, that any error whatsoever, though not fundamentall, if it be wilfully held and taught against instructions and admonitions, especially if it make Sects and

Independency accused and acquitted.

and Factions, let them be never so conscionable in their *Wages*, profess never so much of God to be in them, the Magistrate may and ought to punish them according to the nature of their errors, and their mouths must be stopped, that their teaching do no more subvert.

REPLY.

First, if that law, *Deut. 13.* of punishing a false Prophet to death, for any one that shall entice men from the true God be morall equity, and still binding the Magistrates and Churches of God unto the end of the world, is to be understood (as it there followes) of inducing to Idolatry, wherein notwithstanding there is something peculiar to that nation, as in the 15th verse of that Chapter, *If a City should turn away from the true God, to serve other gods, that they should smite the inhabitants thereof, and the cattle thereof with the edge of the sword, and that they should gather all the spoyle thereof into the midst of the streets thereof, and should burn with fire the city, and all the spoyle thereof every whit, and that it should be an heap for ever, and that it should be never built again,* vers. 16. But this, because it is circumstantiall, I will not insist upon. Now how far the morall equity of this law may extend in other cases, I will not now dispute; because whether it reach further or not, no way concernes the lawfulnessse of Congregationall Churches.

Secondly, as for your instancing *Calvin*, and the Churches of *Geneva's* burning a blasphemmer, and grounding their act upon the morall equity of that law, spoken of *Lev. 24. 16.* I shall say nothing, but referre you to what *Calvin* hath written of it, a Tract entituled *Explicatio perfidie Valentin. Gentilis*, and to Gods triall of it one day in the sight of heaven and earth, it is notoriously evident to be meant of a prophane, wilfull, wicked blasphemmer and curser of God; if that Heretique were such, as *Calvin* endeavours to shew, *Explicat. perfidie Valent. Gentil.* he is condemned in the very Text; but it is not meant of one that through ignorance misconceiveth of God, either in respect of his *Attributes*, or in respect of the *Trinity*; and surely, if such kinde of mistakings should not be atoned but by such sacrifices, we should have hot work amongst Christians; yea, and with such sacrifices God would be pleased after the manner as he would be pleased with the sacrificing of the

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that of our body for the sin of our souls; yea, for any thing that I know, and they that shal deal so with men for such mistakes in such things (I think) are in a great error, as well as the mistaken themselves; and my reason is, because men have been in many places but meanly instructed and educated in the right understanding therof, but oftentimes notions of the deepest cognizance are handed over unto men from father to father, in a traditionall manner, without cleer debating, evincing and confirming the truth thereof, and libertie given to declare ones doubts herein; insomuch, that meeting with a deceiver, many are so soon led away with his error, which is one great cause of the so many wofull divisions, and errors that are now amongst us, and (by the way) this indeed would be a businesse worthy the endeavours of our godly and learned men of our age, to take pains in busineses of this nature) viz. the great things of the Law and Gospel of God, to establish men in the right understanding of the grounds of their Religion, to the rectifying of their judgements, and the reformation of their lives and conversation, and not thus unhappily alwayes to wrangle about things of more inferiour consideration.

Thirdly, suppose that Law, *Deut. 13.* and that also *Levit. 24. 16.* be morall? what is this to the businesse in hand? M^r. *Goodwin* in his *Theomachia*, no elsewhere (that I know of) did ever plead for the toleration, either of such a false Prophet spoken of, *Deut. 13.* or such a blasphemers spoken of, *Levit. 24. 16.* And your self brings in M^r. *Cotton*, and M^r. *Thomas Goodwin*, (men of the same Way and opinion with M^r. *Goodwin*, in matters of Church-government) to clear the Independent party from any such opinion, which (notwithstanding) is insinuated into mens thoughts to be their darling, when, alas, it is nothing so; and therefore why are they charged herewith? Surely want of love in the accusers, and not guilt in the accused, is the ground of their accusation; But the Question is about the Magistrates compelling men, even in matters of a difficult and hard finding out the minde of God therein, and which indeed oftentimes, is out of the cognizance and cleer knowledge of the very Magistrate himself. But can this follow, the Lord commanded a false Prophet that turneth away people from the Lord to be put to death? *Deut. 13.* Will it therefore follow, that that Prophet that shall teach any thing at all contrary to the supposed and

and disputable minde of God, that he also must be dealt withall after such a manner? is there not great difference between mens pleading for this and that kinde of government of the Churches of Christ, and the turning away men from the faith of Christ? do you not all confesse, that the Independent men are holy, godly, learned men; and usefull unto the begetting unto, and building men up in the knowledge of Jesus Christ? and doth not God seal unto their Ministry as well as unto any others Ministry? And so for the other Text, *Levit. 24. 16.* A blasphemer must be stoned to death; will it therefore follow, that an Independent must not be suffered to live in a Christian Commonwealth? surely this conclusion never grew on that Scripture, nor in any other that I have yet seen.

You say, *That any error, though not fundamentall, if it be wilfully held, and taught against instructions and admonitions, especially if it make Sects and Factions, let them be never so conscionable in their Way, professe never so much of God in them, the Magistrate may, and ought to punish them according to nature of their errors, &c.*

Answ. 1. It is not sufficient a point be cleared, but that it be cleared to the persons wee would perswade; else they are to be born with till that be done, as appears in the weaker *Jewes* about ceremonies, and some of the *Corinthians* about the resurrection.

2. It is confest, that obstinacy and wilfulnesse, and that after instructions & admonitions, is justly punishable by the Magistrate, where ever it be found; but, *Quid inde?* where will you fasten this obstinacie and wilfulnesse, that you may bring your supposition to the businesse in hand? upon the Independent? May they not as well recharge it upon them from whence it came? have there not been instructions and admonitions on both sides? and is not satisfaction as far off from many godly and learned men in the one as in the other? Must *nomen multitudinis* determine the businesse? No, certainly, your self hath proposed a better rule, and that is, *the making of Sects and Factions*; and for this, quit you the one party, the other quits it self: As, first, for *the making of Sects*; surely it is not the triall of doctrines before received, but the receiving of doctrines (if compelled by authority) before the triall thereof that makes Sects, it is not the mutuall binding of men together in the bond of love, and the mutuall ingagements unto

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watchfulnesse, instructions, exhortations one unto another (which the Apostle prescribes, as means against mens being tossed up and down by every wind of doctrine, *Ephes. 4. 14. 15. 16.*) it is not these things I say, that makes Sects, but the want of these things; it is true, there are severall Sects that professe these Wayes, so there are severall Sects that professe the Gospell and the Protestant Religion, in so much, that Father said, *The Devill was let loose, when hee saw the Saints that sprung up under his Doctrine,* is the Gospell or Protestant Religion the worse therefore? And as for the other part of your rule of triall (*the making of Factions,*) let the Magistrate spare none where it is found, no, upon his perill, and as he will answer it before the Lord, let him not spare any; for this indeed is the main end of his authority, to keep the people committed unto him in peace, and to be a nursing father unto the Church, if any be in his dominion: but who are these *Faction-makers*? surely not the meek in the earth, the weapons of whose warfare are arguments, reasons and Scripture, and who would have men be at peace with all men, not men that are gentle, soft, striving only with the cords of a man (*viz.*) reason and understanding, and not with the whips of Horses, and the goads of Oxen. Were not the Bishops a *factions* generation? And wherein did it appeare? was it not by their insinuations into the Magistracie, to have their Wayes maintained, urged and prest upon men by a law, by fines, imprisonments, banishments, whips and pillories, by procuring Lawes, and Canons, Decrees and Injunctions, to presse men against the truth, their judgements and consciences unto obedience thereof? and hath not this State-troubling generation, raised up and kindled that consuming fire, that is like now to devour the kingdome? Well, if this evil spirit of distraction, contention and faction be found in the Congregationall party, let not the eye of the Magistrate spare them, but let him take heed, that he do not *condemne the innocent, and justify the guilty.* Now the Lord in mercy conjure that spirit of Faction where ever it be found, and give the Magistracie of this poor kingdome wisdom to observe where it is, and prevent all dangers thereby, that this distressed Nation may flourish in truth and peace.

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The Conclusion.

THese are the Arguments or doubts that for the present I desire some satisfaction in that my judgement and conscience may be satisfied. Let it not be thought that I am making a party against them; or that I think my Arguments cannot be answered, I am better perswaded of their hollinesse and abilities then to think they will take up any opinions, but they can satisfie any equall minded man that asks them a reason of such their faith; nor yet let it be thought that I have followed these objections with a spirit that intends not to receive satisfaction; I call him to witnesse, before whose Tribunal I and all the purposes of my heart must stand naked one day for to be judged, my very heart (if I understand mine own heart) stands open to receive all the truths of God, whoever brings them, with what externall inconveniences soever they come accompanied. I have urged my doubts, it may be thought, with somewhat too much earnestnesse and heat, I am sure with all singlenesse of heart, aiming at nothing but to know more of the mind and Way of God, that God may be more glorified in me. Grace be with us all.

Your true friend to love and serve you
and yours in Christ Jesus, &c.

R E P L Y.

THese are the Answers which for the present I humbly return unto your Arguments, which (I must confesse again) have been tendered with more sweetnesse and candidnesse of language, phrase, and expression, then ever yet I did reade any arguments of this nature before, wherein, if I have shewed, that which is indeed mine own, viz. weaknesse, insufficiencies and mistakes, I hope the power of Christ in you (viz. the spirit of love) will cover them all; and here again I must renew my former request, viz. the letting slip, if any thing be weake, and your more serious thoughts upon that which is more valid and considerable; to pre-

presume your satisfaction, would be too great ambition, though
to assure my self of your acceptance is my perfect confidence;
Sir, I leave what I have here tendered, unto your prudent con-
sideration, desiring the Almighty to leade us all into the wayes of
truth and peace, knitting our hearts together in love, and so
guiding us by his counsels to bring us to his glory, which is the
heartty prayers, Sir,

*Of yours in all Christian love
and sincerity,*

F. P.

XX

Your humble servant
John Smith

F I N I S.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE
LIFE OF JOHN SMITH

XX

And thus concludes the first part of the history of the
life of John Smith, which I have here presented to the
public view, in the most plain and simple manner, as
it was first published, without any addition or alteration
whatsoever, except such as were necessary to correct the
mistakes and errors, which were crept into the former
edition, and to add such things as were wanting to
make the story more complete and full.